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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews some of the findings from two studies of the reactions of single college students and married couples who viewed one of two pornographic films. Findings from the first study included: (1) women were aroused as much as men upon viewing the film showing intercourse; they were less aroused and the men were more aroused after the film showing oral-genital sex. The majo finding in the second study showed that the married male who is high in sex-guilt finds his marital sex life less satisfactory, masturbates more and has a more positive response to pornography than a single male high in sex-guilt. A second paper presents a study involving middle class adults married at least ten years who viewed pornographic films. Results suggest that these films produced no sustained change in behavior with the above subjects. A third study, assessing relationships among exposure to pornography, moral character, and sexual deviance concludes that character is the mediating variable associated with sexual deviance and criminal deviant and sexually active peer groups. (KJ)

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Symposium Paper

EFFECTS OF EROTIC FILMS ON SEXUAL BEHAVIOR OF MARRIED COUPLES[1]

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Although we have concluded that nothing very dramatic happened to the sexual behavior of the married couples in our sample after four sessions of viewing stag films, it took a roomful of data to reach that conclusion. We processed over 11,000 daily questionnaires, each of which contained around 250 potential response categories, three pre-post questionnaires, plus other rating instruments. So, this brief report will necessarily omit many details. Those of you who have specific questions that cannot be answered during the session may catch me afterward. However, I'll answer one high probability question now. No, I did not bring the films with me.

The controversy about the effects of pornography is hotter than ever. Pro-censorship people are sure that pornography drives men to commit all sorts of outrageous acts. Anti-censorship people maintain that pornography is good, clean fun, that it can't hurt anyone, and in fact, might even do many people some good. Both sides argue vehemently despite the absence of empirical data on how pornography affects human behavior. With the exception of recent studies performed at the University of Hamburg which investigated the sexual behavior of college student Ss during the twenty-four hour periods before and after viewing erotic slides and films (Schmidt, Sigusch, and Meyberg, 1969; Schmidt and Sigusch, in press; Sigusch, Schmidt, Reinfeld, and Wiedemann-Sutor, 1970), previous studies of the effects of erotic stimuli on human sexual arousal have confined

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[1]This paper was prepared for presentation at a symposium of the American Psychological Association Annual Meetings in Miami, Florida, September 3-8, 1970.

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themselves to measurement of responses in the laboratory.

A contract awarded to the senior author by the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography enabled us to make a modest beginning by studying a homogeneous sample of middle to upper-middle class couples who had been married for at least ten years.

We decided on our sample composition partly because practical considerations, including budgetary and time limitations, ruled out a more cross-sectional study. We did not set out to settle the censorship controversy once and for all but rather to take a step toward replacing an overgrown mythology with some experimental evidence. For a number of reasons, it seemed sensible to begin by studying middle-class married adults. First, we wanted to study a group other than college students, since almost all the previous laboratory research had focused on college samples, and as a result, little was known about other groups. Second, we believed that studying married, as opposed to unmarried subjects, did not leave to chance the availability of a willing sexual partner with whom a subject could conceivably perform a broad range of sexual behaviors. Third, we assumed that couples married at least ten years presumably had achieved stable levels of sexual response against which changes could be measured and that, furthermore, if they had become a little jaded, additional stimulation might produce measurable increases in sexual activity. Fourth, although supporters of censorship stress the effects of pornography on youth, most topless and bottomless bars, sex exploitation theaters, stag parties, theaters exhibiting X-rated films, and similar places are targets of the censors even though they usually exclude minors to avoid trouble with the authorities. Therefore, since adults, and, usually adults whose incomes permit such expensive diversions, are currently the ones who are patronizing erotic films, it seemed logical to begin with middle-class adults. Finally, we believed that a group of well-educated and well-motivated individuals would do a conscientious job of completing daily questionnaires on their sexual

behavior accurately. Our results substantiated this belief.

Procedure

We recruited Ss in the Palo Alto area, a predominantly middle- to upper-middle class district. The method of recruiting volunteers was through advertisements in the Palo Alto Times, a daily newspaper and handbills posted in supermarkets. The text of these advertisements requested paid volunteers who had been married at least ten years "....to spend two minutes daily for twelve weeks completing a check list of marital behavior." After the advertisement in the Times appeared, the switchboard at our answering service was swamped with replies to such an extent that they asked us to take our business elsewhere. When we discontinued the answering service we had received 186 telephone and 21 mail replies from among which 123 applicants were randomly selected as potential participants; 78% of those agreed to participate after the requirements of the study were explained. Each couple was to receive $75.00 at the end of the study. One 91 year old applicant was excluded because he wasn't sure he could stand the night air on film-viewing nights.

Table 1 shows the design of the study. As I describe the procedure, you may wish to refer to the table. Initially 68 couples were assigned to the group that was to complete daily questionnaires and view either erotic or non-erotic films. An additional 15 couples did not see any movies nor complete daily questionnaires but did complete the pre-post assessment batteries. These bat-t eries which were completed by the entire 83 couples at the beginning and end of the experiment, were designed to elicit background and sexual history data and to measure changes in self-reported behavior, attitudes, marital interaction, and feelings over the twelve-week course of the study.

After completing the first assessment battery, the 68 film-viewing couples mailed daily questionnaires each day for four weeks. Each individual had been supplied with 84 prenumbered and precoded questionnaires, stamped envelopes, and a pamphlet of instructions. Individuals were instructed to complete and mail questionnaires promptly without consulting their spouses or allowing them to see their own responses.

After four weeks of daily reporting, Ss were randomly assigned to the treatment conditions outlined in Table 1. Couples in one treatment condition viewed erotic films with instructions stating "Because individual reactions vary we are showing you several different kinds of films in order to survey people's responses to them." Males in a second condition viewed erotic films under these same conditions, while their wives viewed non-erotic films at another hour. A third group of couples viewed erotic films after having been told that similar films had been used to improve the sexual relationships of other married couples and that it was perfectly natural to become sexually aroused by the films. Couples and females in the non-erotic film conditions viewed documentary films each week under instructions presenting the films as dealing with topics of general interest.

Chi square tests performed on assessment battery variables indicated no significant differences among treatment groups on major demographic or sexual history variables. On the whole, the sample appeared to be predominantly middle to upper middle class; white (except for one couple); moderately conservative in religion, politics, and sexual practices; reasonably happily married, and above average in education. Ages of Ss ranged from 30 to 64 years with a median of 45.75 for males and 42.50 for females. Median length of marriage was 17.50 years.

Ss in all the erotic film conditions viewed a total of seven films in four weekly viewing sessions. Themes covered by these films included heterosexual activity, female masturbation, Lesbian activity, male homosexual activity, group

sexual activity, and sadomasochism. The female masturbation film was a research film used at the University of Hamburg, one heterosexual activity film was a "home movie" made by a couple to record their own energetic and uninhibited love-making, one film, entitled Unfolding, portrayed explicit heterosexual activity in a poetic and impressionistic fashion and was designed to depict female sexual fantasy; the other four films were all commercial stags. During the four weeks of Phase 2 when films were being viewed, Ss continued daily reporting. Furthermore, after viewing each film, they were required to complete detailed rating sheets giving their judgments of the technical and artistic aspects of the films and their emotional and physiological reactions to them. Two orders of presentation were used within each of the groups viewing the erotic films.

Ss were required to continue daily reports during Phase 3, the final four-week time block that followed the last showing of the films. They then completed the second assessment battery plus a questionnaire eliciting their impressions of the experiment and of the effects of their own participation in it.

Results

Since many of the items on the daily questionnaire, for example, anal intercourse, yielded very low frequencies, related behaviors were grouped together in scales. Thus, for example, all marital sexual activity was combined in a summary scale except for group sex, wife-swapping, and sadomasochism which we wanted to look at separately because almost none of our Ss had reported prior experience with them. Other scales covered additional classes of performance, desire for performance, and fantasy, with heterosexual partners (other than spouse) or homosexual partners. By referring to the questionnaire you may see the component behaviors making up these scales.

The first four weeks of the study were designated as Phase 1, the second and third four-week time blocks as Phases 2 and 3. Three sets of change scores for each of twelve daily questionnaire scales were analysed for Phase 1-Phase2,

Phase 2-Phase3, and Phase 1-Phase 3 differences. Both within-group and among-group differences were analysed. Although both control and experimental groups declined progressively in a variety of activities from Phase 1 to Phase 3, only two of the 72 analyses performed on daily questionnaire scales yielded significant F-ratios. Thus, neither viewing the erotic films nor variations in instructions or viewing conditions differentially affected Ss' sexual behavior in the long run. We do know from Ss' free response comments that they were initially stimulated by participation in the study, completing the questionnaires, and reading our sexy instruction pamphlet. This stimulation may have increased their activity in Phase 1 to beyond habitual levels. Also, the Christmas holidays occurred at this time. Once they became accustomed to the procedure, however, it appears that not even the erotic films could restore the enthusiasm they had generated in Phase 1.

As a check on the accuracy of the reporting procedure, we compared each husband's and each wife's reports of marital coitus throughout the study and obtained coefficients of agreement of .96 when mutual reports of both occurrence and non-occurrence were considered and .85 when only mutual reports of occurrence were considered.

We also looked at the immediate effects of the films, since previous laboratory studies indicate that some people are aroused during and immediately after viewing. Sure enough, our Ss had rushed right home and translated their arousal into action. The Hamburg group reported a similar finding for their college students, who masturbated and petted a bit more in the 24 hours after the films than during the 24 hours before. Ss in our erotic film group exhibited increases in the rate of marital activity on the four film viewing nights that exceeded the rate on the other 24 nights of Phase 2 at the .001 level. Controls showed no

significant increase, and the difference between experimentals and controls was significant at the .01 level.

We had wondered whether seeing the erotic films would trigger new sexual behaviors, and if so, would these be of a type that would disrupt Ss' marital relationship. The data revealed that few new behaviors were reported, and almost all of these occurred within the marriage. Almost no Ss reported homosexual, sadomasochistic, wife-swapping, or group sexual activity at the beginning or during the course of the study. Dimensions of the study, other than the films, appeared to influence adaption of new behaviors, since Ss in the non-erotic film condition experimented just about as much as did Ss who saw erotic films.

The data which dealt with Ss' perception of the experiment, their own role in it, and the changes they experienced as a result of participation yielded a number of interesting results. Ss reported being motivated to participate principally by a desire to learn more about their own and others' sex lives. They regarded the study mainly as a survey of sexual behavior rather than an experiment, and felt that they had reported accurately and conscientiously. Only one S (who was in the group of females seeing non-erotic films while their husbands saw erotic films) reported adverse effects from the films. (She was distressed by her husband's report of being aroused by certain practices.) Ten others stated that completing questionnaires either inhibited their spontaneity or made them conscious of shortcomings in their marital sex life. In contrast, by far the largest proportion of Ss reported positive changes for themselves and their spouses as a result of participation. The principal changes reported were increased ability to discuss their sexual behaviors freely, lowered inhibitions, and increased willingness to try new sexual techniques.

Since Ss reported that completing the questionnaires was the aspect of the study that influenced them most, the reported benefits cannot be attributed specifically

viewing erotic films. Moreover, many Ss in the non-erotic film condition also reported benefits.

For all practical purposes, no pre-post change was found for the assessment battery data (which you will recall covered the 12 weeks of the study) except for the section that dealt with Ss' attitudes toward legal exhibition of categories of erotic films paralleling the content of the films used in the study. On these attitude measures, groups that saw the erotic films exhibited a pattern of change quite different from that exhibited by other groups. Males in the erotic film condition became significantly more permissive toward legal exhibition of seven of the eight listed categories of film, while control males tended to become less permissive, with this tendency reaching statistical significance for films depicting group sexual activity. Females in the erotic film condition exhibited somewhat smaller increases in permissiveness than their spouses, with this increase reaching the .05 level of significance for films depicting oral-genital activity. Pooled female controls, on the other hand, became significantly less permissive toward all eight categories of films. Detailed analyses indicated that these decrements occurred almost entirely within groups who saw non-erotic films; females who saw no films actually tended to become more permissive, with this tendency reaching the .05 probability level for films depicting male homosexuality, female homosexuality, and group sex. We believe that for many of our Ss, especially the large number who had rarely seen stag films, the actual experience of viewing was less threatening than their expectations had been, and viewing had therefore served to reduce their opposition to legal exhibition. Viewing non-erotic films, on the other hand, permitted no opportunity to disconfirm preexisting negative attitudes toward erotic films but instead seemingly stimulated the anxieties of control Ss about the content of the erotic films that experimental Ss were viewing. Thus, negative attitudes were strengthened. We cannot readily explain why females who neither saw films nor completed daily report questionnaires became significantly

more permissive.

Time limitations preclude adequate reporting of film rating data. However, to summarize briefly, although there were some sex specific differences, males and females did report similar responses to most films. Males reported higher arousal ratings than females for all films; however, neither sex grouping reported being more than moderately aroused by any film, and in fact, several films were rated more aversive than arousing. It is important to note that the representative sample of stag films exhibited to our sample failed to produce more than moderate arousal.

Conclusions

The pornographic films viewed by middle to upper middle class couples produced no sustained change in behavior. For the most part, these couples who had been married 10 years or more rated the films as only moderately arousing, and in many instances they they were repelled by depictions of activities that deviated from accepted social practices. Furthermore, it seems that after the initial novelty of sampling the forbidden fruit wears off, such films are unlikely to make measureabie changes in the established sexual frequencies, behaviors, or object choices of a group such as the one we studied. Of course, these married couples became somewhat more ardent and ingenious in their marital lovemaking immediately after seeing the films, but this is hardly earth-shaking news, since on their daily reports couples reported being sexually aroused by a broad range of environmental stimuli.

Perhaps one of the most important results of the study was the finding that Ss became more permissive toward various categories of erotic films after viewing them; while Ss, and especially females, who were prevented from viewing the erotic films but instead saw films without any overt sexual activity became less permissive. One might conjecture that much of the support for censorship comes

from individuals who have rarely or never seen stag films and hence have developed strong fantasies about their powerful effects on human passions. The Danish experience, (Ben Veniste, 1968) as well as the satiation studies done by Howard, Reifler, and Liptzin (in press) for the Commission support our own conclusion based on the present study that explicit pornography can create some degree of short-term arousal as long as it is novel and forbidden, but that after brief exposure, people like those in our sample tend to lose interest.

Naturally, our data do not permit generalizations to groups differing widely in demographic variables nor to isolated individuals with idiosyncratic response patterns. Since our finding that very little happened to our Ss after being exposed to pornographic films is inconsistent with some widely held assumptions about the effects of pornography, we feel that additional research with other samples should be undertaken as soon as possible. If samples of adults from different social strata also exhibit no adverse effects from exposure to pornography, it would appear that present censorship laws, at least in respect to adults, require reevaluation.

TABLE 1

Summary of Experimental Design[a]

Group	Both Sexes			Males		Females	
	N[b] (couples)	Assessment batteries	Daily Questionnaire	Film-viewing instructions	Type of film	Film-viewing Instructions	Type of film
1a	8	Yes	Yes	Standard set	Erotic	Standard set	Erotic
1b	9	Yes	Yes	Standard set	Erotic	Standard set	Erotic
2a	9	Yes	Yes	Therapeutic set	Erotic	Therapeutic set	Erotic
2b	8	Yes	Yes	Therapeutic set	Erotic	Therapeutic set	Erotic
3a	9	Yes	Yes	Standard set	Erotic	Non-erotic set	Non-erotic
3b	8	Yes	Yes	Standard set	Erotic	Non-erotic set	Non-erotic
4	17	Yes	Yes	Non-erotic set	Non-erotic	Non-erotic set	Non-erotic
5	15	Yes	No	None	None	None	None

[a]All Ss in subgroups 1a, 2a, and 3a males viewed standard films first and non-standard films later; order was reversed for corresponding b subgroups.

[b]Groups 1b and 2b each lost one couple before film-viewing.

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ABBREVIATIONS: P = Performed a behavior. W = Wanted to perform a behavior. D = Daydreamed about performing a behavior. DNO = Did not occur.

During the period from noon yesterday to noon today, if you neither PERFORMED (P), WANTED TO PERFORM (W), nor had DAYDREAMS about performing (D), a certain behavior listed below, place a mark X in the Did Not Occur (DNO) box for each such behavior. If the behavior did occur, place a mark X in the box(es) for each behavior that best describe(s) the occurrence. Please check off EVERY question, either in the DNO box or in some other appropriate box(es).

1. Consumed enough alcohol to feel some change in mood or emotion. With:	DNO	P	W
Alone			
Spouse			
Partner (opp. sex)			
Partner (same sex)			
Other(s)			

2. Used mind-altering drugs. With:	DNO	P	W
Alone			
Spouse			
Partner (opp. sex)			
Partner (same sex)			
Other(s)			

3. Looked at erotic (sexy) pictures. With:	DNO	P	W
Alone			
Spouse			
Partner (opp. sex)			
Partner (same sex)			
Other(s)			

4. Saw erotic movies. With:	DNO	P	W
Alone			
Spouse			
Partner (opp. sex)			
Partner (same sex)			
Other(s)			

5. Attended live entertainment involving nudity or erotic behavior. With:	DNO	P	W
Alone			
Spouse			
Partner (opp. sex)			
Partner (same sex)			
Other(s)			

6. Read erotic literature With:	DNO	P	W
Alone			
Spouse			
Partner (opp. sex)			
Partner (same sex)			
Other(s)			

7. Whipped, struck or tied up partner during sexual contact. With:	DNO	P	W	D
Spouse				
Partner (opp. sex)				
Partner (same sex)				

8. Were whipped, struck or tied up by partner during sexual contact. With:	DNO	P	W	D
Spouse				
Partner (opp. sex)				
Partner (same sex)				

9. Sexual activity with more than one partner present With:	DNO	P	W	D
Spouse and others				
Without spouse:				
Others (both sexes)				
Others (same sex only)				

10. Exchanged spouses with another couple	DNO	P	W	D

If a behavior listed below in Questions 11 through 22 occurred during the period from noon yesterday to noon today place a NUMBER in the proper box(es) to indicate the NUMBER of times it occurred. If a behavior did not occur AT ALL -- either as Performance (P), Wanting to perform (W), or Daydreaming about performing (D), please check the box marked DNO (did not occur). Please place a check for EVERY numbered question, either in the DNO box or in some other appropriate box(es).

11. Masturbated self to climax. With:	DNO P	W	D
Alone			
Spouse			
Partner (opp. sex)			
Partner (same sex)			

12. You manually stimulated partner's genitals to climax. With:	DNO P	W	D
Spouse			
Partner (opp. sex)			
Partner (same sex)			

13. Partner manually stimulated your genitals to climax. With:	DNO P	W	D
Spouse			
Partner (opp. sex)			
Partner (same sex)			

14. You orally stimulated partner's genitals. With:	DNO P	W	D
Spouse			
Partner (opp. sex)			
Partner (same sex)			

15. Partner orally stimulated your genitals. With:	DNO P	W	D
Spouse			
Partner (opp. sex)			
Partner (same sex)			

16. You orally stimulated partner's genitals to climax With:	DNO P	W	D
Spouse			
Partner (opp. sex)			
Partner (same sex)			

17. Partner orally stimulated your genitals to climax. With:	DNO P	W	D
Spouse			
Partner (opp. sex)			
Partner (same sex)			

18. Sexual contact with paid partner. With:	DNO P	W	D
Partner (opp. sex)			
Partner (same sex)			

19. Vaginal intercourse in which only your usual positions were used. With:	DNO P	W	D
Spouse			
Partner (opp. sex)			

20. Vaginal intercourse in which other than your usual positions were used With:	DNO P	W	D
Spouse			
Partner (opp. sex)			

This report covers the 24 hours ending at noon on : (circle correct month & date)

Dec., Jan., Feb., Mar.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 (OVER)

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21. Anal intercourse	DNO		
With:	P	W	D
Spouse			
Partner (opp. sex)			
Partner (same sex)			

22. How many climaxes altogether did you experience during the period reported?	DNO
With:	Number
Spouse	
Partner (opp. sex)	
Partner (same sex)	
Alone	

23. If you performed, wanted to perform, or daydreamed about performing any sexual activities, other than those reported above, list them below and check the proper box(es)

ACTIVITY	With Spouse			With Partner (opp. sex)			With Partner (same sex)		
	P	W	D	P	W	D	P	W	D
a.									
b.									
c.									

24. If during this period any of the behaviors in questions 1 through 24 occurred for the first time in your life or for the first time in at least six months, list the number(s) of the question(s) above that describe(s) this event. Number of question _____

Check one: (a) First time in my life _____.
(b) First time in six months _____.

ABBREVIATIONS: VM = Very much. M = Much. AA = Above average. A = Average. BA = Below averag
VL = Very little. N = None.

REMEMBER: These ratings are descriptions of what is much, average, below average, etc. for YOU PERSONALLY, not descriptions of people in general. Please check the box that best describes your reply to each question below.

During the period covered by this report:	1 VM	2 M	3 AA	4 A	5 BA	6 VL	7 N
25. How much energy did you have?							
26. How much anxiety did you personally experience?							
27. How downhearted did you personally feel?							
28. How much did you and your spouse quarrel?							
29. How much closeness was there between you and your spouse?							
30. How much did you enjoy your spouse's company?							
31. How much affection did you show your spouse?							
32. How much affection did your spouse show you?							
33. How much did you and your spouse discuss topics related to your sex life?							

If no sexual contact occurred between you and your spouse during the period covered by this report check the box below and do not answer questions 34 through 39. If contact did occur answer questions 34 through 39.

No sexual contact ☐

	1 VM	2 M	3 AA	4 A	5 BA	6 VL	7 N
34. How much foreplay occurred between you and your spouse?							
35. How much afterplay occurred between you and your spouse?							
36. How much time did you and your spouse spend in sexual activity?							
37. How much gratification did you receive from sexual contact with your spouse?							
38. To what extent did you feel adequate as a sexual partner to your spouse?							
39. To what extent did you perceive your spouse as an adequate sexual partner?							

(Females Only): If you were menstruating during this period CHECK HERE _____

(Males Only): If during this period while engaged in sexual activity you (a) failed to get an erection, (b) failed to hold your erection until climax, or (c) failed to reach climax CHECK (a)_____ (b) _____ (c) _____.

Please list briefly below any unusual events or circumstances, such as illness, spouse traveling, vacation trips, house guests, family crises, etc., that may have affected your marital relationship during the period covered by this report.

_____

_____

_____

If during the period reported you dreamed about sexual material while asleep, list below the activity or activities dreamed about and state whether these activities occurred with spouse, with partner (opp. sex) or with partner (same sex).

Activity With DNO _____

ED043076

Exposure to Pornography, Character, and Sexual Deviance: A Retrospective Survey[1]

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The aim of this paper is to report the results of a retrospective survey which was designed to evaluate relationships among exposure to pornography, moral character, and deviant sexual behavior. The procedures and findings are reported in greater detail in our report to the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography (Davis and Braucht, 1970). The impetus of research comes partly from public concern about the consequences of being exposed to pornography and partly from general theoretical ideas about character development.

In general, one would expect character and sexual behavior to be a product of the kinds of examples and specific training that the person has received. Thus, one would expect to find a greater number of character defects where family and neighborhood conditions are most detrimental in the sense of the person being exposed to few models of moral and prosocial behavior and to many instances of deviance. The general expectation holds for sexual deviance.

Two kinds of hypotheses about exposure to pornography seem equally plausible. One is that, because character is to a substantial degree formed by early teenage, exposure to pornography is a voluntary matter that largely reflects the character one has. In this case, exposure to pornography is simply a part of a generally deviant life style. The alternative hypothesis is that character, even though partly formed by this age period, is still open to influence by experience and that the content of pornography exercises a detrimental influence on it, particularly in the area of the quality of interpersonal relationship and moral reasoning.

[1]This paper was prepared for presentation at a symposium of the American Psychological Association Annual Meetings in Miami, Florida, September, 1970.
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[3]Now on the faculty of the Department of Psychology, University of Colorado.

An implication of this hypothesis is that the detrimental impact of pornography is greater the earlier the age at which it is seen.

The hypothesis viewing character as a determinant of exposure suggests that the relationship ought to be the strongest for those whose age of exposure is older. The reasoning is that exposure can be taken as voluntary (and indicative of character) if it occurs after the person is old enough to be on his own, after approximately 17 or 18 years of age. Similar hypotheses may be advanced concerning sexual deviance.

In order to evaluate these competing hypotheses, our approach was to utilize a retrospective survey design in which questionnaire data for a large number of subjects, representing a wide range of character, deviance, and family background, could be studied.

Method

Three hundred sixty-five male subjects, from eleven different natural groups that represented seven different types of subject, were participants in the study. The seven kinds of populations sampled were: inmates of the Denver City and County Jail (both felons and misdemeanants), Mexican-American college students (from three different local campuses), Black college students (from two campuses), white fraternity members from a liberal fraternity on one campus, conservative Protestant students from two campuses, liberal Protestant students from one campus and Roman Catholic seminarians studying for the priesthood.

All participants in the study were males, between 18 and 30 years old (with the mean age being 22.2 and the median age being 21.6). The racial-ethnic composition of the 365 subjects with complete data was 73 Negro, 172 Anglo-Saxon and 120 Mexican-American. Twenty-five percent had not completed high school, and only 50% had some college. Seventeen percent of the men in the sample were married. Fifty-five percent of the sample had been arrested one or more times, and 25% of the sample had been arrested several times. In a number of respects, the sample was one in which an extremely wide range of putative deviance, character, and background factors were represented.

From each of the eleven natural groups volunteers were solicited for participation in the study. Each potential participant was presented with a brief description of what their participation would entail, and then were required to give their informed consent to participate. Assessment of the major variables of family deviance, neighborhood and peer group defiance, exposure to pornography, age of earliest exposure to pornography, and sexual deviance was accomplished wholly be retrosepctive self report via questionnaires. Moral character was assessed by performance on moral dilemmas, ratings of moral reasoning level, and peer ratings of character.

Scales designed to measure six conditions constituting or conducive to deviance in the home were developed, many based directly on the work of Jessor, Hanson, Graves and Jessor (1968). These six components were: (1) exposure to generally deviant models in the home; (2) exposure to sexually deviant models in the family; (3) absence of sanction networks within the family; (4) perceived quality of mother-father relationship; (5) perceived paternal warmth and fairness; and (6) perceived maternal warmth and fairness. From these six components one overall measure of family deviance was constructed.

Scales designed to measure four conditions constituting or conducive to deviance in the neighborhood and peer group were developed. These four components were: (1) exposure to deviance in the neighborhood; (2) exposure to general deviance in the peer group; (3) exposure to heterosexual deviance in the peer group; and (4) exposure to homosexuality in the peer group. From these four components, one overall measure of neighborhood and peer group deviance was constructed.

Assessment of exposure to pornography and age of earliest exposure included self-reports of exposure to seven different classes of pornography (for example, group sex, animal-human sex, homosexuality, and others) conveyed by three media: printed matter, pictures, and films.

Assessment of sexual deviance included self reports of ten behaviors including the behaviors of watching a woman undress when she did not know anyone was watching, forcing others to have sexual intercourse, exhibitionism, and transvestism.

Four component aspects of moral character were assessed: (1) moral blindness--whether or not the subject recognized a situation as one involving a moral decision; (2) moral inclination--the degree to which subjects were inclined to act on a moral, rather than a self interest or personal pleasure basis; (3) level of moral reasoning--assessed by a classification system developed by Kohlberg (1969); and (4) interpersonal character.

The level of moral reasoning component of our character assessment was included because one of the features of life is that a person may make a "moral" choice but defend that choice in nonmoral ways, and, even when using moral reasons, use quite different moral principles in defending the choice. Kohlberg (1969) has devoted a significant part of his professional life to classifying the forms of moral reasoning and to charting their development. Within his system samples of moral reasoning of our subjects were classified into one of five stages of reasoning. In capsule form, these are from the lowest to the highest level: (1) punishment and obedience orientation; (2) naive instrumental hedonism; (3) good-boy morality of maintaining good relations, approval of others; (4) authority maintaining morality; and (5) morality of contract and of democratically accepted law.

Because of the way that men-women relations are portrayed in pornographic writing and films (see Kornhausen and Kornhausen, 1967), it is plausible that a person widely exposed to such materials is therby exposed to examples of exploitative shallow inter-personal relationships, and thus might come to view men-women relationships purely in terms of personal gratification and sexual release. Our concern in including interpersonal character ratings in our character assessment follows from this conceptualization. (See Putman [1970] for an elaboration the rationale and characteristics of this instrument.) Because the quality of one's inter-personal relationships are best known to those who have such relationships with one and can observe one interacting with others, this aspect of character is intrinsically interpersonal. In such a case it seemed wise to go to associates who were likely to know something about our subjects' interpersonal behavior and

and hence be in a good position to judge their character. For this reason, each subject was asked to provide the name of one man and one woman who knew him well enough to respond to a personality report. These peer ratings were designed to distinguish persons merely alienated from conventional morality from those who had no sense of right and wrong and to distinguish those who were more exploitative in their relationships with women. Thus, choice of moral alternatives and inclinations to act on a moral basis when faced with moral dilemmas, performance on a moral reasoning task, and peer judgments of interpersonal character were included in our measure of moral character.

Results

Our sample included subjects with a very wide range of experience with and exposure to pornography. Likewise, the sample included a very wide range of scores on the moral character variable, as well as a wide range of home, neighborhood, and peer group characteristics. This state of affairs provided a good situation for exploring the relations, if any, between character and exposure to pornography. Two equally plausible hypotheses, outlined earlier, have been suggested. (1) That exposure to pornography has a detrimental effect on character and that this detrimental effect is greatest when the exposure occurs at an early age. (2) On the other hand, it may be that exposure to pornography reflects the person's already formed character. In this case those persons with hedonistic as opposed to moral behavior guiding standards, with lower Kohlberg stages of moral reasoning, and generally shallow and exploitative interpersonal relations would be more likely to seek out pornographic materials. In this case one would expect character scores and exposure to pornography to be negatively correlated and to be more strongly related among those persons whose exposure came at a later age (after they were free to buy and see what they pleased). A third possibility, is that both character and exposure to pornography are determined primarily by a third variable such as peer group association patterns and thus that any correlation between the first two variables reflects the impact of this third variable.

Considering our entire sample, the negative relationship between exposure to pornography and character--implied by both hypotheses--was present, and statistically significant, but the magnitude of the relationship was quite modest (r=.142). The other first-order correlations with character showed that deviant families and deviant neighbor and peer groups have a very marked detrimental impact on character. The earlier the age at which a person has seen pornographic materials, the lower his character scores. In our sample, an early age of exposure to pornography was strongly related to poor family and peer circumstances. From these initial findings over our entire sample, it appeared that an early age of exposure may have no impact on character over and beyond that of a generally deviant background.

The next step was to examine the relationships among variables in different age of exposure subgroups. For this analysis, those first exposed to pornography at 13 years of age or earlier were treated as the early age of exposure subgroups. Those exposed at ages 14-16 were considered the intermediate age of exposure subgroup, and those exposed at at 17 or older as the late age of exposure subgroup.

For those subjects exposed at the youngest ages, only the quality of family life was predictive of character. For the intermediate age of exposure subjects, quality of family life was still the strongest predictor, but in this case, neighborhood and peer group factors were also significantly related to character.

For those persons whose exposure comes primarily at 17 or later, peer and neighborhood conditions were the most strongly related and the exposure to pornography variable was negatively related to character. That is, those who see a great deal of pornography (but primarily after age 17) have lower character scores than those who do not expose themselves to pornography.

But these analyses and others not reported here provide no evidence for a detrimental effect of exposure to pornography on character. In the early and middle age of exposure groups, exposure to pornography was not significantly related to character. In the latest age of exposure subgroup, it appears that those with low character scores seek out pornography and that

this pattern is strongly associated with having highly deviant friends and neighbors. In general the same patterns held for each ethnic group.

While the major concern of our study was with character, it is also possible to treat varieties of deviant behavior as variables which could be related to and perhaps influenced by exposure to pornography. Of primary interest is sexual deviance. Unfortunately, while age of exposure to various types of pornography was obtained, age of committing various acts of sexual deviance was not obtained. The failure to obtain age of commission data for sexual deviance and offenses makes the testing of casual hypotheses about the effects of pornography difficult. However, the early age of exposure subgroup (those first exposed to pornography before 14 years of age) is a group in which substantial sexual deviance is unlikely to have occurred prior to exposure. Thus, a significant correlation between exposure to pornography and sexual deviance in this subgroup could tentatively be interpreted as indicating the impact of pornography. On the other hand, the later the age of exposure, the more implausible it would be to assign a causal status to exposure.

In the entire sample, exposure to pornography was significantly related to sexual deviance (r=.33). When the age of exposure subdivisions were made, we found that exposure to pornography was the strongest single predictor of sexual deviance among the early age of exposure subjects (r=.29), somewhat more so than family (r= +.18) and slightly more then neighborhood influences (r= +.27). In all three age of exposure subgroups, exposure was significantly related to sexual deviance, but we found a dramatic increase in the association between exposure and deviant peer-neighborhood circumstances from younger to older exposure age groups (r=.16 to .33 to .59). Thus what changed in the transition from early to late exposure to pornography subgroups was not the correlation between exposure to pornography and varieties of sexual deviance - that remained fairly constant (r= +.29 to +.34) - but rather exposure to pornography became integrated, in the later age of exposure group, into a highly deviant pattern consisting of peer group associates who actively encouraged and modelled heterosexuality and/or homosexual behaviors, who were more likely to be engaging in nonsexual forms of criminal deviance, and whose character defect scores were quite high.

These data are consistent with the character defect data and by themselves could be interpreted as indicating that exposure to pornography played no significant role in the etiology of sexual deviance.

The problem is, however, that exposure to pornography was correlated with indices of sexual deviance at all ages of exposure-in contrast with the character scores- and that, in the earliest age of exposure subgroup, the correlation between exposure and peer group pressure to engage in heterosexual behavior or to peer deviance were too slight (r=+.24,+.16) to dismiss the finding as merely indicative of a subcultural pressure.

A careful examination of the correlates of sexual deviance in the early age of exposure subgroup suggests a two-factor theory of deviance in which exposure to pornography is related to solitary sexual behavior (masturbation), to homosexual experience, and group sex and in which peer group pressures are related to precocious heterosexual experience. Granted that these two factors are probably inadequate for they need to be supplemented by information about the sexual restrictiveness and harshness of the person's background, it remains a problematic question as whether any causal significance can be attached to early and ample exposure to pornography in the etiology of sexual deviance.

The correlation found is consistent with the possibility that those who get involved in forms of sexual deviance early are also likely to be introduced to pornography early or to seek it out. But the data are also consistent with the possibility that such early and ample exposure may affect the youth's view of sexuality and willingness to engage in varieties of deviance. In an old-fashioned language, his sexual inclinations and sexual character may be warped by a very significant early exposure.

In view of the general credence given to the importance of observational and vicarious learning from model in personality development, it seems clear that there data make an urgent case for careful longitudinal research on the impact of early exposure.

Discussion

Our major interest has been to assess the relationships among exposure to pornography, moral character, and sexual deviance. Because of the nature of the research design, we have been limited to examining associations among indices of exposure, age of exposure, moral character, sexual deviance, and sexual behavior. When relationships have been found, we have employed the strategy of moderator variables (primarily age of exposure to pornography) to determine what, if any, credence can be given to a causal hypothesis attributing to exposure to pornography the power to effect character detrimentally and to contribute to sexual deviance and precocious sexual behavior.

In the case of character, we discovered that the modest relationship between poor character scores and amount of exposure to pornography was due almost entirely to those subjects exposed at 17 years of age or later. In this (late) age of exposure group, poor character scores were associated with sexual deviance, a high level of sexual activity, and to participation in criminal, deviant, and sexually active peer groups. Our conclusion is that, here, character is the mediating variable that ties together and explains the strong interconnections. Those who expose themselves, probably voluntarily and in association with like-minded peers, after age 17, appear to be persons with predominantly hedonistic, instrumental conceptions of right and wrong, and with more shallow, exploitive, and psychopathic character structures.

In the case of sexual deviance, we have found a positive relationship between deviance and exposure to pornography at all age of exposure levels. We found that the relations between exposure to pornography and sexual deviance include a broad spectrum from mildly deviant, high frequencies of heterosexual behavior, to group sex, to sex without love, to homosexuality, rape, and male prostitution for those subjects exposed to greater amounts of pornography. Because we do not have age of commission data for the more deviant sexual behavior, we cannot pin down causal hypotheses, but these data do not allow us to rule out the possibility that exposure to considerable pornography at early ages (under 14) plays some role in the development of

sexually deviant life styles.

Limitations of the Design

1. With the exception of the interpersonal character ratings, our data came from self-reports. While we took special steps (payment of subjects, the guarantee of anonymity) to ensure cooperation, we do not have the number of data sources external to the subject (such as official records, observers' reports, and other nonreactive measures) that would clinch the accuracy of our assessments.

2. Establishing (or discrediting) a causal relationship between exposure and sexual deviance could be done more effectively in a longitudinal, panel design, where character and behavioral assessments could be made prior to exposure, and where the intimate ties between peer pressures and inducements and exposure could be examined as they develop.

3. A key to the reasoning that pornography could have a causal impact on sexual deviance is a judgment about the content and message of the materials. A more refined and comprehensive assessment might well show that it is not the mere presentation of naked bodies or intercourse that has any detrimental effect but rather the attitude toward the body, sexuals relations, and persons portrayed in the material that is critical. The case for a causal relationship would be strengthened considerably if one could show what attitudes are conveyed by typical samples of pornography and show how the message was received by persons with different backgrounds and characteristics. Here we may speculate that if pornography has any detrimental effect, it may be among those persons who have been taught to view sex as sinful and dirty and for whom the attitudes conveyed in pornography are often consistent with this belief in the dirty and sinful nature of sexuality.

4. Even if one accepts the probability of a causal connection between sexual deviance and exposure to pornography (early and in large amounts), it remains clear that many men see or read large amounts of pornographic materials without any detrimental results. More attention needs to be given to what innoculates persons against the potentially detrimental effects of exposure.

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SEX-GUILT AND REACTIONS TO PORNOGRAPHIC FILMS

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Today I would like to briefly review some of the findings from a study of the reactions of 194 male and 183 female single college undergraduates who viewed one of two pornographic films which portrayed either face-to-face sexual intercourse or oral-genital sex between the same heterosexual couple. The procedure and findings are reported in greater detail in the technical report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography (Mosher, 1970). From this data I will highlight some of the relations of the disposition to guilt over sex to psychological reactions to pornography. In addition, I want to report for the first time some findings from a similar smaller study of 32 married couples who viewed similar pornographic films. The data intrigued me because it revealed that the sex-guilt of the male mediates different reactions to pornography in the single and married male.

The films used in the present research and many of the methods employed were taken from the pioneering work of Schmidt and Sigusch (1970) at the Institute of Sex Research in Hamburg, Germany. The films portrayed the same man and woman in the same physical setting. In the oral-genital sex film the couple was shown undressing one another, kissing, and engaging in manual genital petting, cunnilingus, and fellatio to ejaculation. In the film of coitus the couple engaged in a similar sequence of undressing, kissing, manual genital petting, and then had face-to-face sexual intercourse. The films were in color, slightly speeded-up because of technical problems, and contained more affection and fewer genital close-ups and "kinky" sex than is typical of most pornography.

The subjects were seen in same-sex groups of around thirty. First they completed some individual difference inventories and questionnaires. After viewing

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one of the two films, they completed forms indicating their physiological reactions to the films, affective reactions to the films, and ratings of the films on such dimensions as pornographic, disgusting, and enjoyable. Twenty-four hours after the films they completed a follow-up questionnaire in which they compared their sexual behavior and emotional and vegetative states in the twenty-four hours after the film with the same behaviors and states twenty-four hours before the film. Two-week follow-up questionnaires were primarily devoted to measuring opinion changes as a function of viewing the pornographic films.

These American students were younger and less sexually experienced than the German sample of Schmidt and Sigusch. In spite of these differences in population and in procedural details, the results of the two investigations were quite comparable in showing moderate levels of sexual arousal to pornographic films, that genital sensations occurred for most subjects while viewing the films, differential levels of sexual arousal for males and females to a film of oral-genital sex but little difference between the sexes in degree of arousal to a film of coitus, somewhat greater arousal of negative affects and emotional states in females than in males, less favorable ratings of the films by females, and no more than slight changes in sexual activity in the twenty-four hours after viewing the film.

Let me briefly review the major findings from my study. Single college men and women were moderately sexually aroused by viewing pornographic films. Women reported almost as much sexual arousal as men to a film of face-to-face coitus, but men reported even more arousal and females less sexual arousal to a film of the same couple engaging in oral-genital sex. The film of oral-genital sex was rated as more pornographic, disgusting, and offensive and the sexual behavior as less normal than was the film of face-to-face intercourse. Women regarded the two pornographic films as portraying less normal sexual behavior, as more pornographic, disgusting, and offensive, and as less enjoyable than did the college men.

After watching a pornographic film, the subjects reported many mild increases or decreases in affective states. Men had larger increases in affective states indicative of general activation and in affects which might lead them to approach sex than did the women. That is, the men reported greater increases to such affective adjectives as excited, interested, eager for contact, pepped-up, impulsive, aggressive, and driven than did the women. The women had mild increases in negative affects while the men tended to decrease slightly in the negative affects. That is, the women reported mild increases to such adjectives as shocked, angered, disgusted, ashamed, embarrassed, and guilty while the men reported that these affects decreased for them slightly from before to after viewing a pornographic film. Overall, then, the immediate reactions to the films were moderate sexual arousal and mild increases in affective states indicative of activation and approach tendencies for men. The women were more likely to report mild increases in negative affects after watching the films.

Twenty-four hours later the sex differences in these affective states continued to be present. Once again the comparisons of emotional and vegetative states in the twenty-four hours after the film in comparison to the twenty-four hours before the film yielded reports of only mild or slight mean increases or decreases. Women reported larger increases in internal unrest, gastro-intestinal complaints, and nervousness than did the men. The men reported more of an increase in aggressiveness than did the women in the twenty-four hours after the film. Viewing a pornographic film had little effect on the sexual behavior of these single college students in the following twenty-four hours. The students reported engaging in more conversations about sex and as having more sexual fantasies in that twenty-four hour period in comparison to the day before watching the film. Neither the men nor the women increased their frequencies of masturbation, heterosexual petting, oral-genital sex, or coitus in the twenty-four hours following the film.

In general, these college students saw the films as having little effect on them two weeks later. They had taken the procedure pretty much in stride and appeared pretty "cool" throughout. Some opinion items had been given before exposure to pornography and were repeated two weeks after viewing a pornographic film. Opinions about premarital sex became slightly more liberal two weeks after in comparison to before viewing a pornographic film. The less sexually experienced single subjects had little change in their opinions, but the more sexually experienced subjects became more liberal about premarital sex. There were no changes in their view of extramarital sex which was relatively conservative for a group of college students with moderately liberal sexual attitudes. This strikes me as particularly interesting since my smaller sample of married couples became more liberal in their opinions about extramarital sex two weeks after viewing the films, but did not change their opinions about premarital sex. These findings seem to indicate the importance of the personal relevance of the opinion to the life situation of the subject, although the research methods used need improvement before great confidence could be placed in these findings.

Having reviewed the major findings and sex differences in reactions to pornographic films, I would next like to discuss the relations found between sex-guilt and responses to pornography. Ten years ago I began developing measures of the personality disposition of guilt where guilt is conceived as a generalized expectancy for self-mediated punishment for violating internalized standards of proper behavior. It is useful to distinguish between the concepts of guilt as a personality disposition and guilt as an episodic affective state. As a personality disposition sex-guilt is acquired or learned in a series of situations related to sex and conscience development. Sex-guilt as a disposition influences the way situations are perceived or the reaction tendencies of individuals in sexual situations. The affective state of guilt or guilty feelings are transient episodes which may be one manifestation of the disposition to sex-guilt.

For example, Mosher and Greenberg (1969) found that college women who were above the median on a measure of the disposition to sex-guilt reported increases in the affective state of guilt after reading an erotic literary passage compared both with their prior levels, that of low sex-guilt women, and women in the control group. A forced-choice measure of the personality disposition of sex-guilt was one of the individual difference measures used in my research.

In addition to completing the sex-guilt subscale of the Mosher Forced-Choice Guilt Inventory, these single college students had also completed many of the questions contained in the Psychology Today sex questionnaire which was constructed by Robert Athanasiou and Phillip Shaver. The results of the Psychology Today survey of 20,000 readers was reported in their July issue (Athanasiou, Shaver, & Tavris, 1970). I will summarize some of the significant correlations between sex-guilt and responses to the sex questions of my sample. Sex-guilt was significantly positively correlated with conservative sexual attitudes and standards. High sex-guilt subjects held more conservative standards about premarital and extramarital sex and the dissemination of sexual information, contraceptive devices, and legalized abortions. Their views of homosexuality were more negative. They were more liable to believe that recent Supreme Court decisions about censorship and pornography threatened moral standards and that the government should strongly enforce existing sex laws. High sex-guilt males were less likely to obtain pornography voluntarily. The more guilty subjects reported a less positive response to past exposures to pornography and that they were liable to feel guilty about reading sexy stories or looking at pictures which showed sex acts. For the guilty subjects love and sex were linked, and they believed sex should be reserved for love and marriage. They believed that a girl who engaged in premarital sex was liable to lose the respect of the boy. The high sex-guilt subjects considered themselves to be more religious and politically conservative than the low sex-guilt subjects.

There were also a series of significant negative correlations between sex-guilt and reported past sexual behavior. High sex-guilt subjects were less likely to have engaged in premarital sexual intercourse. If they had experienced coitus, it was less frequently, with fewer partners, and with more regret. Coitally experienced high sex-guilt males had found the sex less pleasant and reported that their initial sex experience had been with an intimate rather than a casual date. Among the coitally experienced women, the high sex-guilt females began intercourse at an older age and reported that they did not use contraceptives. High sex-guilt subjects reported masturbating less frequently and were less likely to have engaged in or to have wanted to engage in cunnilingus, fellatio, and anal intercourse. High sex-guilt subjects reported that fear of social disapproval, guilt feelings, and religious or moral training kept them from freely expressing their sexuality.

A person disposed to guilt over sex may not seek out pornography since he may experience guilty feelings if he does, but if he comes into contact with pornography in an experimental situation his sex-guilt does not preclude sexual arousal. Sex-guilt was not related to the degree of reported sexual arousal for these subjects after viewing pornographic films. Data from reported genital and breast reactions were difficult to interpret, and direct physiological measures are required in addition to self-reports to untangle the phenomena. High sex-guilt females reported fewer breast sensations such as nipple erection than did low sex-guilt females. High sex-guilt males reported more partial erections in response to the films, and high sex-guilt females reported more mild genital sensations to the face-to-face intercourse film, but no relationships were found between sex-guilt and simple scales of male erectile response and the strength of female genital sensations. However, it does appear that the hypothesis that sex-guilt tends to preclude sexual arousal from erotic stimuli is no longer tenable.

High sex-guilt subjects rated the films as more pornographic, disgusting, and offensive and as less enjoyable than did low guilt subjects. High sex-guilt subjects regarded the oral-genital sexual behavior as abnormal. High sex-guilt subjects experienced more negative affects such as repelled, shocked, irritated, disgusted, embarrassed, ashamed and guilty after watching the films. Sex-guilt and gender interacted for three positive affects. All of the men and low sex-guilt women reported an increased feeling of happiness and being eager for contact after watching a pornographic film while the high sex-guilt women did not. Low sex-guilt women and high sex-guilt men reported feeling more affectionate after viewing a film. The high sex-guilt subjects reported mild increases in internal unrest, nervousness, and guilt in the twenty-four hours after viewing a film in comparison to the day before.

Now that I have briefly summarized some of the results from one of the studies that I did for the Commission, I would like to report some of the findings from a similar unpublished study that I did with 32 married couples who volunteered to view two pornographic films. The first film was the film of face-to-face intercourse previously described. The second film portrayed the same couple undressing, kissing, and engaging in manual genital petting, cunnilingus, fellatio, and coitus in about six different positions. Procedures were generally similar to that of the study of single undergraduates.

The married couples were moderately sexually aroused by viewing the two films. The wives were significantly less aroused by both films than the husbands and rated the films as significantly more disgusting and offensive although these ratings fell in the mild range, and as less enjoyable than their husbands although they found the films moderately enjoyable. There was a significant sex difference in disgust which appeared consistently throughout all of my data. Women rated the films as more disgusting and felt an increase in the affect of disgust after viewing the pornography. Further research into the specifics and the origins of this sex difference in disgust reactions seems warranted.

The married couples reported a significant increase in petting and coitus with the spouse in the twenty-four hours after the films in comparison to the preceding day. There were no increases in extramarital sexual behavior or in new or novel sexual behaviors with the spouse.

The scores of the couples on the sex-guilt subscale of the Mosher Forced-Choice Guilt Inventory were all low. It would be accurate to describe the sample as low sex-guilt and even lower sex-guilt. Only one main effect of sex-guilt was present; the higher sex-guilt subjects found the film of oral-genital sex and coitus in multiple positions more offensive than the lower sex-guilt subjects. The most interesting findings involved a series of interactions between gender and sex-guilt. There were five significant interactions and seven interactions which reached the .10 level out of 70 possible comparisons of the changes in affective states and film ratings. No claim can be made that the sample of married couples is either random or representative. The levels of significance were not impressive. Yet the pattern of the interactions was clear and consistent. High and low sex-guilt married women responded in a similar fashion to the high and low sex-guilt single women. In contrast to the reactions of the high and low sex-guilt single males, however, the high sex-guilt married males responded more favorably to the pornographic films than did the low sex-guilt married males. That is, the high sex-guilt married males enjoyed the films more and found them less disgusting than did the low sex-guilt married males. They felt more impulsive and were less bored and depressed than the low sex-guilt single males. The high sex-guilt married males tended to feel more peaceful and pepped-up and less repelled, ashamed, and guilty than did the low sex-guilt married males after watching the pornographic films. This pattern of more favorable reactions to pornographic films of higher sex-guilt married males in comparison to lower sex-guilt married males was a clear reversal of the pattern for single males.

A possible explanation of this finding was suggested by data resulting from correlations of sex-guilt with responses to questions again derived from the sex questionnaire of Athanasiou and Shaver. In addition, correlations between one spouse's sex-guilt score and the other spouse's replies to the sex-questionnaire were computed. The guilt scores of husbands and wives were not significantly correlated. Recall that for single males the high sex-guilt males had less sexual experience and more negative reactions to pornography. The high sex-guilt married males were less satisfied with their sex lives. They were older when they began to have intercourse, reported being fellated less often, and had less interest in or experience with wife swapping. The wives of the high sex-guilt males reported that they were less satisfied with their sex lives and had orgasms less frequently than did the wives of the married males who were less disposed to sex-guilt. Again this is a pattern of less sexual variety and satisfaction. However, the high sex-guilt married males reported that they had masturbated more frequently over the past six months. Polsky (1967) has applied Kingsley Davis' argument about prostitution to pornography. Polsky argued pornography provides an outlet for impersonal, nonmarital sex by masturbatory, imagined intercourse with a fantasy object. Citing Kinsey, Polsky argued that masturbating to pornography is largely a phenomenon of the better-educated classes which certainly fits my sample. My data suggested that high sex-guilt married men and their wives found less sexual satisfaction in their marriage. The variety of acts and partners which were not present in the marriage was present in the pornographic films. Masturbation and pornography apparently provide an outlet for the high sex-guilt married male who finds less satisfaction in his marital sex life. The single male who is high in sex-guilt masturbates less, has fewer heterosexual outlets, and has a less positive response to pornography. The married male who is high in sex-guilt finds his marital sex life less satisfactory, masturbates more and has a more positive response to pornography.

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